LUCIFER.

THE LIGHT-BEARER.

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COME OUT IN THE OPEN.

Come out in the open! Stand forth in the light!
Look facts in the face!
To hug one's illusions, take refuge in flight,
Crouch low in the shadow and cover the sight,
Are little men's ways.

Come out in the open! Stand forth in the light!
And fear not to look!
What seemed so mysterious during the night
Will shed all its terrors when plain to the sight,
Like print in a book.

Come out in the open! Stand forth in the light!
Dispute not with facts!
Exchange faith for knowledge and fancy for sight.
Make this thy religion, "What seems to me right
Shall order my acts."

Come out in the open! Stand forth in the light!
View all undismayed!
Dread palsies the soul; superstition is blight;
But knowledge guides mortals to live life aright,
And die unafraid.

—*Miles Menander Dawson.*

What Is Anarchism?

Anarchism is the doctrine that government should be abolished. Everybody agrees to this, and, as everybody thinks he knows what government is, everybody thinks he knows what Anarchism is. Yet very few people can define government in such away that they would not take back their definitions after being asked a few questions.

Anarchism is a theory of political science, and is opposed to government in the political sense. Government, in the political sense, is a human power which assumes and exercises a general control over the actions of all persons within certain recognized limits of territory or of race, enforcing this control by violence whenever necessary. The "government" of a club, a church, or any other voluntary organization is not a political government, because it does not attempt to compel the obedience of all persons within any limit, but simply directs the actions of such as are willing to be directed; hence it is not opposed to Anarchistic principles.

What Anarchists regard as the essential and objectionable principle of government is the use of force to prevent a man from doing as he pleases. They (like most other people) would like to see a millennial period in which no force should be used against any man. But they (like most other people) recognize that that cannot be had at present—that some people will be violent, and others must decide whether to meet violence with violence. If a bully tries to duck me in the pond,—an act essentially governmental, though lacking the public organization of government as generally recognized,—and I violently resist him and thwart his will, is my action parallel to his?

Some Anarchists, such as Tolstoi, think it is, and would renounce the use of violence even for defence. But the great majority of Anarchists discriminate between government or crime (two names for the same thing) and defence. To use or threaten violence against any one who had been peaceable is government,—that is, crime; but violence against a criminal, to repress his criminal use of violence, is a different thing. Anarchists commonly regard gross fraud as equivalent to violence in justifying violent reprisal.

Of course the business-like way of using violence, or its threat, to repress violence is by social organization, with the ordinary machinery of police, courts, and jails. Many Anarchists approve of this machinery, desiring only that it be confined to defensive service; and it is obvious that in an Anarchistic society those who wanted such service could not be prevented from combining and maintaining a police establishment, since any use of force to prevent them must, from its users' standpoint, be tyrannically governmental.

Thus the triumph of Anarchism would not prevent the continuance of police and jails, and such continuance is to be expected. But this would not be government, since it would not be able to collect any tax except by threatening to withdraw its services from non-payers, nor to enforce any law against those who let others alone. It could not even prevent the establishment of a rival police service in the same place. But government is not government unless it monopolizes its business within its bounndaries.

The question arises whether violence against property is in the same category with violence against persons. Here is the chief split among those who call themselves Anarchists, one party holding that property in the material products of labor is a corollary of personal liberty and should be defended as such, while the other holds that all property is an absurd institution, whose defence is an outrage on personal liberty. Logically, each party holds that the others are not true Anarchists. This is written by a defender of property.

Is law-breaking Anarchistic? There are two kinds of law-breakers,—Anarchists and tyrants. An Anarchist is one who is unwilling to be subject to the will of others, and is willing to allow others the same liberty. A tyrant is one who breaks laws himself at will, but wants others kept in subjection; for instance, Napoleon, Rockefeller, or any striking workman who tries to maintain his strike by violence against "scabs." Tyrants should not be called Anarchists, even if the New York "World" does talk about "Anarchy directed by a usurping despot."

The public is interested in the relation of Anarchism to violence. While it is clear, from the above discussion, that violence against peaceable people is contrary to the whole doctrine of Anarchism, and that, when such is practised by a professed Anarchist, it shows that he does not know what Anarchism is, it is also clear that there is nothing contrary to Anarchistic principle in the use of violence against those who themselves are using governmental force to repress liberty. But neither is such violence commanded by Anarchistic principle, for no Anarchist holds himself bound to meet force by force, unless he finds some use in it. The defenders of property hold that, where there is any tolerable amount of free speech, it is brutish,

useless, and altogether condemnable for a small party to attack the established authority with bloodshed. The Anarchist-Communists grade all the way from this position to the advocacy of the most reckless violence.

The Anarchistic policy of the present is to diffuse our doctrines, live our own lives and do our own business without regard to the decrees of government as far as possible, and encourage others to do the same. The policy of the future must be determined by the circumstances of the future.—*Stephen T. Byington.*

The First Revolt.

"Oh, how I love Elena!" cried Darya Vasilievna.

"She is impossible," returned Boris Alexandrovitch.

"Ah, I do not think so! I could do as she did," and Darya looked across at Boris wistfully. "I wish I could know her."

"Well, you are not going to know her, or to do as she did; and that is a comfort. Dushenka, toss old Turgenieff aside and give me a kiss. You look so pretty in your new red gown. When we are married——"

"Ah, yes when we are married," sighed Darya, gazing through the window, her eyes resting on the far-away horizon.

Darya was eighteen, and her father, rich Vasili Bakunin, had betrothed her on her last birthday to Boris Alexandrovitch Mezhkoff. Neighbors congratulated Bakunin on this match, for the young man was well-to-do, his own master, good looking, and popular. The girl had readily accepted him, and her trousseau was already half completed. She felt herself in luck to find a desirable husband so early. On her nineteenth birthday she would be married, and go away from the rambling old country-house where she had been born, to reign in the beautiful cottage that Boris was building on his estate eighteen versts away. Then would the field be clear for Tania, the younger sister, and how Darya would advise the child when her turn came, and how she would help with the wedding clothes!

Darya Vasilievna was small and plump, and her eighteen summers had been passed in happiness—all except the sad time when her mother sickened and died. Darya had wished to die herself then. To follow in that mother's footsteps grew to be her dearest wish, and she asked no happier fortune than to be the same industrious housekeeper and cheerful wife. Darya looked forward to married life with placid fatalism, and Boris Alexandrovitch was the open door through which she was to attain the fulfilment of her dreams of domesticity.

Once in every seven days Boris rode over in his smart droshky to see his betrothed. Together they laid plans for the future, talking a great deal about the new cottage, or walking hand in hand around the farm, where Darya pointed out the fruits of her own labor, and boasted gleefully of her achievements.

And the lover tenderly smoothed the braids that crowned the head of his little Dolinka, and swore that he was the most fortunate man in all that district.

Why should not the girl be perfectly happy? It frightened her to hear herself asking this question one day, for it meant that certain forebodings, restlessly twisting and turning down in the deepest recesses of her heart, had suddenly taken shape, definite, though as yet very tiny.

There were certain subjects of deep interest to Darya that she had found she could not talk about to Boris Alexandrovitch. One concerned the muzhiks that tilled her father's land, those lazy, good-natured fellows, whose improvidence tore her heart. And she loved and cared for two babui, sisters, who had grown too old to work, carrying soups and cakes to them during the winters, and what is more, giving them her own bright sympathy. And then, too, she loved the little children. But al peasants were alike to Boris Alexandrovitch, and they were al "animals."

"My beloved Dolinka," he would cry impatiently, when the girl threw herself into plans for their comfort, "let these animals go their own way. You will have quite enough to attend to when you have me."

Darya was perplexed and grieved. But Boris was very kind and did not permit these little clashes to disturb his serenity.

"I shall want one of our rooms fitted up as a study," she had said one day.

Boris stared at her.

"Yes, really," said Darya, with a catch in her breath as she realized that she must beg for it. "Because——because, Boris Alexandrovitch, I desire to be wise."

"Ho, ho," roared he, "what have you to do with books! Just keep your little noddle for my accounts."

Two tears started into Darya's eyes, in spite of an effort to laugh the matter off. Boris Alexandrovitch did not see them, for he was caressing her soft brown hands.

That evening she was startled to see the face that looked out of her mirror.

"What! Can it be that I am unhappy? Bah! I *will* be happy!"

But the eyes of Darya Vasilievna were no longer the clear, laughing eyes that had sparkled at Boris Alexandrovitch when Vasili Bakunin put her hand into her lover's.

Yet she went singing about the house as she had always done, and not even Tania guessed that anything had gone wrong.

Now this particular day of Boris' visit fell in a week that was cold and wet. So the walk a-field must be foregone. Darya had dressed herself with especial care, smiling to herself as she donned the red frock that she and Boris had bought, with much gaiety, at the great fair in the summer. Running into the warm, cozy sitting-room, she dropped into one of the window-seats with a sigh of satisfaction, and opened the book she held in her hand. It was "On the Eve," and she had read it through during intervals of leisure snatched through the week. Now she was turning back to the scenes that had most deeply roused her; her cheeks flushed, her breast heaving. So it was that Boris found her, and kissing the damp curls clinging to her forehead, he vowed she was the prettiest and the dearest girl he ever saw.

"Listen to this, Boris Alexandrovitch," cried she. "Sit down at once, and just listen! I have so wanted to read this book to you.—Now, isn't that grand?" as she finished a scene of three pages.

"Partly,—yes," said her betrothed. He really did not know what to say. He was not used to things people wrote. "But those people, that—that Elena—they are ridiculous. Now see here, Darya Bakunina, I think you are in bad company there."

"But I love Elena," cried Darya.

It was the same old story, and this time the girl actually sighed. She felt an iron band tightening around her heart.

"Dushenka, little bird," said Boris, "leave that old scribble-body. The story has upset you. Indeed, I shall have no books in my house, when we are married. Your head must be kept clear for my cooking, for my servants. Come, Dolinka, sing me one of your dear little songs."

His words rasped painfully. Darya was stung beyond control. She turned toward Boris Alexandrovitch, rising slowly from the window-seat, her eyes glittering, her cheeks now ashen white.

"*Your house? Your* servants? Ah, and *your children*, I suppose!"

Never before had Darya looked tall, threatening. The abrupt change struck Boris aghast.

"What are you talking about?" he stammered.

But the girl could speak no more.

It was frightful. Doubts of the future entered his soul. Anger at Darya filled his heart.

"See what a fool you are getting to be," he said, in a low, harsh tone. "I do not wish for a spoiled woman. Get your crazy notions out of your head—the Lord only knows what led you to them—or you may lose me!"

Darya turned to go, sobbing. Her soft round body quivered with pent-up emotion. He saw only the tears that hung on her

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lashes. He could be generous now. He caught at her hand, and kissed the tips of her rosy fingers. But Darya passed on, sobbing.

"What was the matter?" asked old Vasili, who sat in the opposite corner.

Boris Alexandrovitch, barely answering, "Nothing," strode angrily out of the room.—*Helen Tufts, in "Free Society."*

Limitations to Freedom in Love.

A good friend in Ohio writes us a letter of criticism and inquiry. He is willing his letter should appear in print, but declines to publish his name, because—as he has no personal prestige—he thinks it would do no good. He suggests that I use his initials only. His letter in part is as follows:

MY DEAR MR. HARMAN:—I have always looked upon your free love ideas with the largest charity. I always knew that your motives were absolutely good and therefore my effort to agree with you, so far as my judgment would approve, I think your thorough endorsement of Hilda's Home left a bad impression upon the community. I read it attentively and was hardly satisfied with the promiscuity it advocated. One of its heroes, represented as thoroughly loving a female mate, was permitted by the writer to sexually affiliate with another charming woman without censure from anybody, not even the two ladies, whose desires, according to fashionable usage under the most sacred of mating proprieties, almost everybody would think should be antagonistic. If this is not promiscuity in its largest sense, I do not know what is. According to the story the male was granted unlimited license and inferentially the female also. Do not mating brutes and birds exercise a certain amount of xclusiveness and fidelity? I think they do! If yes, why not man and woman also do the same thing? We do not differ in regard to the propriety of an easy separation and also a new mating, if desired.

I have several times asked the following question, without getting a reply from anybody. If a man make a female *enceinte*, what shall be his conduct sexually during her period of gestation? Shall he remain continent? Intrude himself upon her without regard to her preference, or shall he sexually affiliate with anybody who covets his embraces? A candid reply to this question would interest numerous inquirers.

You certainly must be aware that there are two kinds of love quite opposite in their modes of enjoyment. One is decidedly carnal, or physical; confined to the body only, while the other is purely spiritual and seeks its highest enjoyment in admiration for the intellectual, sympathetic and conscientious aspirations of its *beau ideal*. The carnal is of the earth earthy, transient and short lived, while the spiritual is enduring, lives after death and is presumably eternal.

It seems to me you pay too much attention to the carnal side of the subject and not sufficient attention to the spiritual phases of the same subject. If you think the death of the body annihilates us, I simply cannot agree with you and refer you to the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg as a refutation. The accepted teachings of Modern Spiritualism also disprove your philosophy. Please make early reply and believe me

Fraternally yours, W. D.

REPLY.

The questions of Friend W. D. open up a wide field of discussion, not to say of speculation and conjecture. Without attempting in the space of one article to answer all the points raised in the quoted paragraphs, I would say that to my thinking we can learn much from the associative life of "brutes and birds" in a state of nature; that is, when not demoralized by domestication, or enslavement by man. Proudhon, in "What Is Property," page 228, says:

"The elephant knows how to help his companion out of the ditch into which the latter has fallen. Cows form a circle, with their horns outward and their calves in the center, in order to repel the attacks of wolves. Horses and pigs, on hearing a cry of distress from one of their number, rush to the spot whence it comes. What descriptions I might give of their marriages, the tenderness of the males towards the females, and the fidelity of their loves! Let us add, however,—to be entirely just—that these touching demonstrations of society, fraternity, and love of neighbor, do not prevent the animals from quarreling, fighting, and outrageously abusing one another while gaining their livelihood and showing their gallantry; the resemblance between them and ourselves is perfect."

While this "resemblance" may be "perfect" in many respects it is certainly not perfect in all. As Dean Swift has pointed out, men are the only animals that "fight their females"—that beat, kill or enslave their females, and that require or compel sexual service from them while gestating offspring.

It may be added also that man is the only animal whose social and economic arrangements are such that a part of the females are compelled to be "promiscuous" in their sex life.

The word promiscuous means "undistinguished," "common," "indiscriminate"—in other words, without selection.

If these definitions be correct then there is very little masculine promiscuity in human sex-relations. Men are supposed to do the choosing in marriage, and men who patronize houses of ill-fame exercise the power of choice, or selection; but for the wretched female inmates of those houses—except, perhaps, a very few—there is left no power of choice. Stern necessity compels them to be promiscuous; and in unnumbered cases it is much the same in legal wedlock—economic necessity, or the arbitrary will of parents or guardians compels the female to accept a mate towards whom she feels no attraction—perhaps feels aversion, disgust or hatred.

HILDA'S HOME.

My endorsement of the book Hilda's Home, so far as I now recall such endorsement, was intended mainly to give voice to my hearty approval of the prominence given by Rosa Graul to Freedom in Love. That the practicalization of this principle should lead, in some instances, to a select variety in mating, as in the case mentioned by W. D., is to be expected when we remember that man is the evoluted product, the epitome or summary, so to speak, of all the so-called lower orders of organized life. Among our kindred, the "brutes and birds," we find all possible forms of mating for reproduction, except perhaps monogamic union for life. But if some beasts and birds are monogamous to the extent of exclusive union of two, and no remating in case of death or unavoidable separation, it should not for a moment be forgotten that such exclusive devotion is always voluntary, never enforcrd, unless we are to credit the stories told of the punishments inflicted by ravens and storks, upon members of their community that had violated the strict monogamic code.

* * *

But whatever may be the mating ethics of birds such as the stork, the raven, the robin, etc., which have attained such perfection of type that there would seem to be little need of re-selection of mates, or of selected plurality—which is not "promiscuity," as Friend W. D. seems to think—this monopoly of one male or female by one of the other sex, would seem to have serious disadvantages in communities or races that have not reached perfection of type. In all such races monopoly of the best male, the most nearly perfect male, by one female would seem to be a very un-social or anti-social act. Such exclusiveness would seriously impede if not wholly defeat the evolution, the progress, of the race towards perfection of type.

Until perfection of type is reached the ethics of such races or species as the *grouse*—sometimes called "pheasant"—or of the common wild turkey, might be studied to advantage.

These birds, though gregarious, do not flock together during the mating season. Who that has lived in western woods has not heard the "drumming" of the male grouse and the "gobble" of the male turkey in Spring? These sounds are simply the amatory calls of the males, to let the females know where they are to be found.

(*Continued on page twenty-one.*)

Lucifer, the Lightbearer

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Bureaucratic Censorship of Mails.

One of the most patent, most unmistakable, of all the signs that herald the approaching complete surrender to monarchism or imperialism, is the apathy exhibited by the public press in regard to the more or less successful attempts of Edwin C. Madden, Third Assistant Postmaster General, to suppress Socialistic and Anarchistic papers.

That the leading city dailies, backed by influential political partisans and by practically unlimited wealth, should be silent in regard to these meddlesome invasions, is only to be expected. The comparatively small and poorly supported weekly papers that are now the victims of Madden's discriminations, are without exception opposed to the two great political parties, the parties that now divide the spoils of office between themselves, and whose only real point of difference is as to the best methods of hoodwinking and robbing the masses of people.

This fact is quite sufficient to explain the silence of the great dailies on the subject of postal censorship. The more weekly papers suppressed the better for the circulation and support of the great dailies.

* * *

Among the country weeklies that have given voice to their condemnations of Madden's usurpations is the "Fergus (Minn.) Globle." In a recent issue its editor says:

"A fellow named Edwin C. Madden whom Fortune, good or ill, has made Third Assistant Postmaster General, has set up a press censorship, and is suppressing newspapers at will and in defiance of the constitution. Many newspapers are jumping on to Madden for that. But that is unfair. Madden is simply obeying orders. President Roosevelt is the fellow you should blame. Important things like suppressing newspapers are never done without the President's sanction. If Roosevelt will not remove Madden then the newspapers will have to remove Roosevelt. It is up to the newspapers. Under press censorship no paper is safe. Boys, what shall it be?"

* * *

Of the city weeklies none have been more vigilant in guarding freedom of speech and press than has "The Public" (Chicago) whose editor, Louis F. Post, closes an exhaustive presentation of the matter in these words:

It is reasonably clear, nevertheless, from the language of the third assistant postmaster general himself, used in connection with the "Appeal to Reason" case, that second-class mailing rights rest in dangerous degree upon the arbitrary discretion of the bureau of which he is chief. When a paper can be excluded because persons who believe in the doctrines on public matters which it advocates, pay to have it sent to other persons, who accept it—and this appears to be a moderate interpretation of the ruling—it is time to make the danger signal. And the nub of the whole thing lies in one innocent sentence in the third assistant's letter of December 14, already quoted from. We refer to a sentence in which he says:

"The subsidy of the second-class (pound) rate is not given you—except in your sample copy privilege—to send copies to those who are not 'legitimate' subscribers."

There is the point, all in one word "subsidy." Second-class rights are regarded by the postal bureau as a subsidy, evidently because a cent a pound rate is not remunerative. Accordingly, the bureau builds up a system of rules of its own—making them progressively more drastic, yet conveniently elastic as to individual cases—under which it is coming closer and closer to the point at which it determines the distribution of this subsidy arbitrarily. That the bureau is right in denominating the second-class right as a subsidy, we think is true, provided second-class matter does cost more for postal service than a cent a pound. In that case the difference is unquestionably a subsidy. But why should the American press be subsidized by congress? Why should "Harpers' Monthly," for instance—a veritable storehouse, by the way, of advertisements of Harpers' books—why should that publication be subsidized? Why should the country weeklies be subsidized with a few dollars, and the great papers and magazines with thousands upon thousands of dollars? Why should any periodical be subsidized at all? And why, above all else, should the distribution of the subsidy be so arranged as to enable a bureaucratic chief to discriminate so as virtually to establish a bureau censorship over periodical publications? Let the subsidy be abolished! Papers that people want don't need it; those they don't want ought not to have it. The whole principle of subsidies is vicious. It is especially vicious with reference to the press. It is peculiarly vicious, when under pretence of judicially distributing the press subsidy, a railroad subsidy is secretly maintained. Away with it! Let there be neither subsidy nor discrimination. Let congress ascertain the cost per pound of handling second-class matter, and fix the postage rate accordingly. Let the postoffice department be required by law to give to all periodical publications, whether they promote doctrines or advertise goods, equal postal facilities at remunerative but indiscriminating postal rates.

From the standpoint of law—of state-socialistic law—but little is needed to be added to this clear and concise statement. The view taken by Neighbor Post is eminently sensible, equitable, just, but, judging from all past experience, he who expects the thing called government to be run on principles of equity, justice, or of common sense, is foredoomed to sad disappointment.

But let the agitation proceed. Some good may come of it.

M. HARMAN.

What Is State Socialism?

MR. EDITOR:—Please reply once more to my question in No. 899. That you did not quote State Socialists for your definitions is, as you say, as evident as the man's nasal prominence which you cite as a type of distinctness, and this is the very reason why I asked you to do so; and which you will do unless you assert that State Socialists are the only people who are not allowed to define their own doctrine. You class franchises, privileges, etc., as State Socialistic, although State Socialists are opposed to these.

I think my view of the term "scientific" is allowable. When the magnet is found to attract the armature, this may be called knowledge; when repeated experiment shows that under various forms and conditions this principle is constant and can be applied practically, it may be termed scientific. Therefore any Socialism termed scientific must be that which has been found practical.

To say that Democratic Socialism is despotic is absurd; and to show that majority rule of a band of Anarchists is superior to that exercised by members of a corporation now known as a city, is the task I would set you, or any Anarchist.

You might also prove that the "robberies" now committed by the administrators of public commonwealth are greater than the "dividends" taken legally, and apparently without challenging comment from you, by the managers of similar public enterprises now under private ownership; such as $1 for gas

costing 18 cents; dividends on eighty millions of street car stock, when there is only ten millions actual property; dividends on steel stock equal in one year to the whole value of the capital, and many other instances. When you get through with this task, you may be willing to admit that no reform is to be judged by what now exists. C. F. H.

* * *

The question asked by C. F. H., in No. 899, was, "What writer known to be a state socialist can you cite who favors the granting of privileges to individuals—which the laws you mention do?"

To this I would briefly reply that I am not sufficiently posted in regard to the various socialistic schools to say what writers would acknowledge the name State Socialist, and which of them would not. It is not for me to fasten labels on any one. I much prefer to have each writer label himself, if a label or tag is desired.

In speaking of state socialistic laws I was using my own definitions. No one is required or expected to accept my definitions. If mine do not suit, let him put forth his own, and show wherein my definitions do not apply to him, or to his party, class or sect.

Once more in few words, let me say that to my thinking we are all socialists, whether we adopt the name or not. Even those who call themselves Anarchists are also socialists, inasmuch as they want to live in societies, or social groups, co-operating or exchanging voluntarily with each other. Hence Anarchists may justly claim the name voluntary socialists.

* * *

Yes, I "class franchises, privileges, etc., as state socialistic," just as I class the postoffice system, our land system, our money and patent systems, as state socialistic. Meantime I do not forget that many socialists oppose franchises and special privileges granted to corporations by state, national and city governments, by which privileges the unprivileged masses are robbed of their honest earnings to enrich the parasitic or vampyre classes of human society. At the same time many if not all of those who call themselves Socialists endorse the postoffice system, notwithstanding the notorious fact that privileges are granted to certain classes that are denied to others, and notwithstanding the oft-exposed favoritism by which, under government authority, the railway companies are allowed to put many millions of unearned money into their treasuries every year. Whether these robberies would be less monstrous, less inexcusable, less criminal, under the reign of a new political party calling itself "Social Democratic," or "Socialist Labor," "Single Tax" or "Referendum," is yet to be tried.

"To say that democratic socialism is despotic, is absurd," says our critic. Names count for little. Democratic socialism may be quite as despotic as republican socialism, theocratic socialism, aristocratic, plutocratic or monarchical socialism. "A rose by any other name," or a skunk-cabbage by any other name, would not change the odor given out by each. So long as the essential crime remains—THE AUTHORITARIAN STATE, or government of man by his fellow man, we shall have privileges for the few and exploitation, robbery, slavery, for the many. "Tell me not of the abuses of artificial government [governments of force and authority] the thing, the thing itself is the abuse."

* * *

Not calling myself an Anarchist, but simply an inquirer after truth, I shall not undertake to show that "majority rule of a band of Anarchists is superior to that exercised by members of a corporation now known as a city." I was induced to believe, however, that Anarchists do not advocate "majority rule," or any other RULE, as such, but rather a system of co-operative self-help and self-defense, wherein there is no government by rulers, but simply self-government, self-control, by equal citizens who attend to their own business and expect all others to do the same.

As to which class of robbers is the worst, the administrators of our falsely called "commonwealth," or the government-favored monopolists whose "loot" goes by the name of "dividends," I do not pretend to say. As these two classes of respectable thieves and robbers stand together and mutually help each other to exploit the real producers of wealth, they are probably equally guilty, and it makes little difference to their victims which class of robbers gets the lion's share of the spoils, and which class is content with the jackal's share.

* * *

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.

Yes, comparisons drawn from physical science—electricity and magnetism, for instance, may be useful when applied to the study of human ethics, but the trouble is, we try to get out of these comparisons more than there is in them. If human beings were allowed to co-operate as freely and as naturally as the "magnet with its armature" we might correctly apply the term "scientific" to socialistic experiments, but where and when have people been allowed such freedom in any country wherein the priest and the political strumpet have been permitted to get in their work?

* * *

Here, then, is the true explanation of the failure of Socialistic and Anarchistic experiments, to which frequent allusions have been made, in these discussions; also of the universally disastrous failure to secure even-handed justice under all governments of force and authority.

M. HARMAN.

Limitations to Freedom in Love.

(*Concluded from page nineteen.*)

The males of these birds do none of the *selecting*. They do not hunt for or pursue the females. They simply make themselves as attractive as possible, with their "curvetings, trumpetings, and general shows of bravery which mark the male sexual vanities," as Stinson Jarvis says in his book, "The Ascent of Life." The females do the selecting; the mating is natural, spontaneous, compelled by the most powerful amatory attraction, with the result that there are few if any failures in propagation.

There are practically no deformed or malformed birds when left to natural selection; no idiots, imbeciles or epileptics, as is so often the case where nature is thwarted, debased or defeated by man's interference—by man's selection, handicapped as that selection is by superstitious notions of "duty to God," or of allegiance to human law—priest-made law, a code of marital ethics admirably adapted to create and perpetuate *inequalities* of body and mind, perverts and "degenerates," thereby making necessary such artificial government over the many weak and ill-formed, by the few strong and well-endowed, as we see today.

* * *

Of course no one will infer from this that the examples of natural selection just mentioned are to be followed by human beings implicitly, or without adaptation to evoluted human needs. The young of the human animal needs the fostering care of both sexes, instead of that of one only. The psychic needs of the human animal require more constant companionship than do those of brutes and birds. Hence the analogies named should not be pushed beyond reason, nor used for more than they are worth.

* * *

Speaking of psychic needs leads naturally to consider the

CARNAL AND THE SPIRITUAL

phases of the attraction called Love, referred to by W. D. As I

see it, the carnal does not, or should not, antagonize the spiritual, nor the spiritual the carnal. These two phases are not "opposite" in the sense of being mutually destructive. "Their modes of enjoyment" may be and should be mutually helpful. Psychic or spiritual love has its origin in the passional or carnal attraction whose chief purpose seems to be the propagation of the species or race—incidentally the enjoyment and development of the individual, herself and himself. It is because the physical, the carnal, or the reproductive phase of human love has been so persistently depreciated, decried, maligned and treated as essentially vile and debasing—unless sanctified by authority of church or state, that some of us have paid more attention to this phase of human attraction than to the less maligned, less misrepresented and more ethereal kind, called spiritual love. Both are good, pure, holy and uplifting when guided by reason, by good judgment or wisdom. Both may be so misused as to bring disappointment, pain, sorrow, death, to the individual and to the race.

* * *

The greatest value of Hilda's Home, as an ethical work, consists in its excellent showing how the love-life of each individual—woman and man—can be lived, practicalized and made lasting, without invasion by either, and without sacrifice of the personal development or unfoldment of either partner. Also, how the needs of children can be safe-guarded without sacrifice or slavish absorption of the life forces of either parent.

All this is shown to be now within the reach of those who are wise enough, that is, who are *intelligently selfish* enough, to unite in making and enjoying a truly Co-operative Home, a home that is the evoluted product of all past experiments, of all past *mistakes*, in human co-operation.

PROSPECTIVE MOTHERHOOD.

Old time readers of this journal do not need an answer to W. D's. question regarding the rights and duties of prospective motherhood and fatherhood. As I see the matter, Liberty with Responsibility solves, or should solve, our friend's problem. Woman is the owner and guardian of the human CREATORY, the laboratory in which are fashioned and formed new humanbeings. Ownership and guardianship of this creatory impose duties, responsibilities, that cannot be assumed by man, not even by proxy. Ethical rights and duties—responsibilities—are commensurate, run parallel. That is, the greater the duty, the heavier the responsibility, the greater should be the right. These indisputable facts and deductions involve and include the further statement that woman's duty to the helpless unborn should most sacredly guard the right of that embryonic human being from all invasion, or from unwelcome intrusions of all kinds.

The necessary corollary of this reasoning is that fatherhood must also be free. Masculine man must be free to do, non-invasively, whatever in his best judgment he may consider right and proper to be done for his own development, unfoldment or protection; free also to consider what is altruistically and racially due from him towards other prospective mothers who may select him as partner in their work of race reproduction.

LIFE AFTER DEATH.

The limits of our Light Bearer prohibit enlargement upon the speculative question of man's continued conscious existence after the death of his body. As I view the matter there are other problems that call much more imperatively for consideration and adjustment, than does this old yet ever new—and to me always interesting—question as to whether death does or does not "end all." While generally avoiding discussion I have my own opinions upon this subject, opinions that probably do not differ greatly from those of our friendly critic.

"One world at a time" is not a bad motto. To live the largest and best life possible—egoistically and altruistically—in the "here and now," will, in my opinion, be the very best preparation for any possible, any hoped-for life in the great "hereafter." M. HARMAN.

Hanna's motto is, "Let well enough alone," and Hanna thinks he is "well enough."—*Atlanta Constitution.*

The American Press-Writers' Association.

The Press-Writers have been much in evidence the past week in Boston "Traveler," Philadelphia "Bulletin," Chicago "Record-Herald," and many local papers. On January 19 the Boston members held an adjourned meeting to hear and take action on the report of the committee previously appointed to investigate the recent hold-up of "Discontent," at the Tacoma, Wash., post office. After a thorough sifting of all the evidence obtainable the committee submitted the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted, and the secretary instructed to have them published as extensively as possible:

WHEREAS: The evidence submitted to your committee shows that the officials in charge of the mails at Tacoma, Washington, have acted with undue exercise of power in delaying the mails of the Home Colonists at Home, Washington, and that the action taken seems to indicate a desire to suppress the freedom of the press,

Resolved: That we condemn such action, with all others of the kind, as a blow to our most cherished institutions, liberty of speech and liberty of the press.

And *Resolved:* That we, the members of the Boston branch of the American Press-Writers' Association, protest most earnestly against any action tending to the suppression of literature advocating liberty of thought, provided such literature is morally unobjectionable.

W. F. FRAZIER. AURIN F. HILL, W. J. HUTCHESON,
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Myra Pepper, 1324 E. 16 St., Kansas City, Mo.:—Let me say a word or two in praise of Lucifer. You're one of the few radical papers that has the courage to say anything about the outrage at Home, Washington. I expect to remain here this winter and if there are any friends of Lucifer in or near Kansas City, I'd like to meet them, or hear from them.

Leon Partridge, Milford, Mass.:—In a late number of Lucifer, Comrade Kerr takes strong exception to the idea of voluntary protective associations. He instances the Montagus and Capulets, the Scotch clans, and other like cases, as proof of the evil of such associations. Now, what have they to do with Anarchy—or any other of the higher forms of human association? If we have not progressed beyond the need of war among ourselves, what are we working for? We have no use for internal wars—we can arbitrate. The idea of the clan is, now, to form a union against archistic and chaotic invasion.

A. A., Newbury, Mass.:—Enclosed please find fifty cents for which send "Leaves of Grass" to me; also please tell me of how many volumes is "The Psychology of Sex" by Havelock Ellis, and how much is the cost complete. I remember that book was spoken of once in Lucifer—I think as unrivalled except by "Psychopathia Sexualis." Well some years ago my physician spoke of that work and was to lend it when he recovered it; having lost track of his copy when he returned from a three months course in New York City, I said I would buy it and he gave me the address—I sent and was refused—"only sold to the profession." I might have got Dr. W., perhaps, to send for it, but I was angry and let it drop. Dr. W. is Homœpathic. I "turned" to that school years ago. It always seems to me analogous in medicine to the Unitarian sect in religion. And I regard the Unitarian people as of the salt of the religious earth; socially, of the best and finest of humanity.

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